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/14 cont./

621 The settlement of Bananal is one of the oldest among those that now exist on the coast of the State of São Paulo.

[162] It is probable that there are to be found today among the Indians of Bananal descendants of at least three Guaraní hordes [648] Tañiguá, Apapokúva, and Oguahuíva. In 1949 the Serviço de Proteção aos Índios re-established the native post that formerly existed at Bananal.

621 178 In recent years the village, which had at its disposal a patrimony of 940 alqueires, has been showing many signs of disintegration. Numerous factors have contributed to this, among [146] them the tendency for great spatial mobility, together with phenomena of social disorganization stemming from the contact and crossing with elements of the coastal population. In Bananal in June of 1946 I counted 87 inhabitants (including Indians, caboclos 621 162 married to Indian girls, and mestiços), forming ten families /Port. fogos, fires, hearths, families, houses/ in all. In November of 166 the same year there were only nine families, among which were distributed only 27 individuals: 16 Indians, 2 caboclos, and 9 mestiços. Some of the inhabitants stay at São Vicente or at some other point close to some coastal center. In 1948 almost the entire village stayed at kilometer 10 of the Santos-Juquiá railway for [176] some months. The Indians had abandoned their homes because of an accident in which a member of the community had lost his [158] life. They also leave at times for long periods for "health treatments," i.e., to consult some famous curer. Not infrequently [464] the men absent themselves for weeks at a time to work on some fazendas in the Barbacena region.

621 182 Everything shows a state of increasing detribalization. The number of Indian girls married to caiçaras /a term in São Paulo for the caboclos who live on the coast/ and living outside the [563] community seems to be relatively high already. The mixed marriages with caboclos and caiçaras in the bosom of the community tend to increase; the /15/ mutirões /co-operative work parties; see pp. 66 ff./ with caboclos and the celebrations frequented by them are the order of the day, making acculturation proceed rapidly in the direction of the rural culture of the region.

621 433 In the economy tillage predominates over hunting, having

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/15 cont./

[62] [433] [678] supplementary activities, such as exploring for palmitos for trading. Socially, the group is not cohesive, which is reflected in the frequency of dissensions and fights, the allusions to the "espírito de porco"/"spirit of pig"/, and the continual accusations of black magic in the bosom of the community.

[361] Itariri, in the Serra dos Itatins, between Peruíbe and Juquiá, at the point of kilometer 105 of the Santos-Juquiá railway. It seems to be an ancient village, likewise founded in the last century. Some 8 to 10 Ñandéva families live there in a cultural situation comparable to those who live in Bananal. Meanwhile [563] I have not found there any mixed marriages between Indians and caboclos. There was only one individual of different racial origin in the group: a native of Paraná, he was said to be mestiço with a caboclo father and Guaraní mother. For some time a group of Mbüá families who came from Paraguay in 1946 under the leadership of the Ñanderú Miguel lived in the village; they later settled next to Rio Comprido, also in the Serra dos Itatins. Among these Mbüá the tribal religion suffered little or no Christian influence during the period subsequent to the Jesuit missions.

[361] Rio Branco, in the vicinity of Praia Grande, south of Santos, about 13 kilometers from the sea, in the Rio Branco valley, i.e., behind the Serra de Jacupiranga. Founded about thirty years ago. [62] When I knew it in 1946 the population present was 55 individuals, namely, 17 men, 16 women, and 23 children. All of them be- [563] longed to the Mbüá subgroup, except for an old Ñandéva couple and a mestiço woman, who had come from another village. There were no caboclos in the village. The inhabitants were distributed in twelve houses, each one generally sheltering one elementary family, but sometimes forming groups of two or three, and thus bringing together the constituent elements of great-families /Port. famílias-grandes/. Today the number of the Indians of the village is much more reduced. The Rio Branco [186] Indians cultivate a strong group consciousness in opposition to the "Portuguese" and do not allow mixed marriages with them. [484] They like to make commercial expeditions to the towns and cities on the coast and even to the capital of the State. At

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/19 cont./

177 178 Anyone who tries to become acquainted with the present-day Guaraní Indians in their own villages will not fail to notice at once that certain domains of their culture appear completely open to foreign influences, whereas in others the attachment to the traditional patterns is extraordinarily strong. The conjunction of the factors responsible for this form of reaction to interethnic contacts is very complex and can be understood only with reference to the central theoretical problem of acculturation, concerning the reinterpretation of the new elements in terms of the tribal "ethos," or, in other words, the reconciliation of the conflict, on the basis of previous experience between the traditional solutions and values, on the one hand, and the innovations that become necesary or desirable, on the other.

621 In their numerical composition, as we have seen, the present-day Guaraní villages vary between some 40 and a few hundred individuals. Because of the extraordinary spatial mobility, the [361] size of the nuclei is subject to constant modification. The smaller groups are those that are found close to the coast in contact with urban and rural populations, while the larger villages are located farther in the interior, at different places in the ex- [61] tensive basin of the Paraná. The large villages, with two hundred [554] or more souls, are normally subdivided, however, into various local groups, each of which is made up of a kin group that has as nucleus the great family of a personality of prestige, generally a religious chief (Nanderu among the Ñandéva and Mbiá; paí among the Kayová). The whole village or horde actually appears as a unit only in certain circumstances, such as important religious celebrations.

621 182 [177] Concerning the degree of social cohesion of the different communities, its diminution is, so to speak, in direct proportion to the time during which the group lives in constant relation with foreign populations. Among the most striking causes are, in the • [563] first place, the large number of interethnic marriages, and, in the [78] second place, unfavorable conditions for performing religious ceremonies, which constitute perhaps, as we shall see, one of the forces that most cement the group solidarity of the Guaraní.

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621 177 The most suitable example of such a situation is the village of Bananal, on the coast of the State of São Paulo. The Indians of this village have been living for several generations in close association with the rural inhabitants of Lusitano-Brazilian origin. The long familiarity has led to close neighborly relations, which are seen, for instance, in an exchange of economic services (particularly in the mutirões /co-operative work parties: see pp. 66 ff./) and in the frequency with which the caboclos participate in the celebrations held in the Indian village. The economy approximates that of the caboclos, particularly in the almost exclusive importance of the cultivation of the soil to the detriment of hunting. By the acceptance of foreign individuals into the community as husbands of the Indian girls, the primitive ethnic homogeneity was broken, which makes difficult the performance of religious ceremonies, in which, tradition requires, all the members of the group, without exception, are to participate. The foreigners are not only unfamiliar with the constituent elements and the significance of these ceremonies, but also find them ridiculous: consequently the performance of them became more and more infrequent, to the point of being practically extinct. The main factor of communitarian cohesion, the communion of religious ideals, has thus lost its force, which is reflected in the constant dissensions and enmities within the group.

[433] 621 182 563 177 78

621 177 There is a very different situation, for instance, in the village of Rio Branco, also located on the Paulista coast, but made up exclusively of Mbüá Indians. In its vicinity there is almost no caboclo population with whom constant relations could have been established. On the other hand, part of the population is almost always out of the village, in neighboring towns or cities, on a kind of trading tournée /Fr., "circuit"/, selling artifacts and begging alms. The form of interethnic contacts to which they are subject thus differs essentially from that the Ñandéva from Bananal have experienced for generations. In this community there are no elements that are to be considered foreign bodies.

[437] [735]

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164 /29 cont./
75 by the nocturnal dances in the open air. Furthermore, there is no possibility, under present circumstances, to subject them to any systematic medication; tuberculosis, which they call "peat" or "dry cough," is considered the result of sorcery, therefore to be cured only by measures of countersorcery.

158 /30/ Mental illness is rare, even though it is not difficult to find individuals with a "sick" emotional state and others who have frequent hallucinations. A crazy Kayová lived for several years at the P.I. Francisco Horta.

• 563 The resistance to crossbreeding weakens as contacts and
179 economic interaction between the Indians and the caboclo populations intensify. One also notices a close relationship between the changes in the religious life and the number of interethnic marriages.

563 The number of conjugal unions between Guaraní and caboclos is far greater than that between these Indians and elements of other tribes. For about twenty years some families of the Terêno [582] tribe, natives of Mato Grosso, have lived with the Guaraní of Araribá; to date no marriage between persons of the two groups has been verified; I know at this post, however, a couple made up of a Kaingáng /Caingang/ man and a Guaraní woman, whose life, by the way, is distinguished by constant domestic battles. Years ago a German, Grütken, also resided in this village, married to a Guaraní woman; some children of the couple now life near Bauru.

Mixed unions between Guaraní and caboclos are not rare, particularly in the villages in which the two have lived together for several decades. According to the rule of hypergamy, these unions take place between Indian women and caboclo men; the exceptions are extremely few; I have information about two cases in which Guaraní men constituted families with caiçara /coastal caboclo/ women from the coast south of São Paulo. Among the Ñandéva the resistance to marriages with foreign elements is rapidly decreasing; and to these unions is linked more and more the idea of social ascent. In Araribá the Indian women married to "civilized men," i.e., caboclos consider themselves the elite of the group. The phenomenon obviously reflects the high [182] degree of detribalization in which these Indians are found.

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563 [621] This does not hold for the Mbüá, who do not admit into their community any element foreign to the tribe. In most instances they do not even succeed in living in harmony with some Ñandéva family that for some reason has come to settle in their midst. I had information about an exceptional case: an Indian [582] from the Mbüá village of Rio Branco was said to have married a woman from the coast. I did not know the couple, who lived on some fazenda.

563 78 The Mbüá say that they cannot allow marriages with individuals "from outside" because the latter "do not know how to pray," that is, they cannot participate satisfactorily in the religious ceremonies "It is only true Guaraní who pray," an Indian woman of this group explained to me. /31/ The Ñandéva and Kayová, too, think that the "civilized ones" and the mestizos cannot be religious persons. The religious inspiration indispensable for the mystic communication with the divinities and the protective spirits is a privilege of the pure Indian. At various times in the coastal villages I have met a caboclo from Paraná, Leocádio Chagas de Oliveira, who says he is a Guaraní mestizo born in Catas Altas, in Alto-Ribeira, near the Paraná-São Paulo border. Even though he enjoys enough prestige [829] among the Indians and participates in the prayers and dances, even having taken the title of "yvyraídjá," they say that no yvyraídjá (protective spirit) could descend upon him, because Leocádio is not a member of the tribe.

563 177 These facts show, on the one hand, that the tribal religion is the strongest barrier against crossing with foreign people, and, on the other hand, that mixed unions cannot fail to affect the tribal life profoundly, reaching directly into the nuclear sphere of the culture, whose most palpable aspect is the performance of [829] the religious ceremonies. The Guaraní, principally the oldest ones, are fully aware of this process, and in their conversations they insist on the relationship that exists between the increasing number of interethnic unions and the phenomena of social disorganization and cultural disintegration. /Page 32 is blank./

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/59 cont./

476 179 178 Thus, it is confirmed once more that the most incisive change brought about by cultural contacts consists in the abandonment of ancient patterns of solidarity and co-operation that gain strength in the satisfaction of all the vital needs, whether in the religious practices, in economic activities, or in any other domain of existence.

476 182 • 563 On the other hand, in the places in which the Guaraní live in association with caboclo inhabitants or near them, the puxirão may prove to be an efficient way to make the relations with the "nationals" closer. Particularly the dance that ends the day of work in common sometimes assumes the form of interethnic fraternization. The Indians, for their part, very joyfully respond to a call made by a caboclo resident. This is observed, for instance, among the Nandéva of the village of Bananal.

476 621 The second form of puxirão -- collective work for the whole local group -- has been observed only in the village of Rio Branco. Since the community, in the final analysis, has been reduced to a loose association of great-families, it is understandable that the undertaking is not initiated by an order of any chief, but by concurrence among all, comparable, perhaps, to the decisions of the "council of elders" among the ancient Tupinambá.

476 245 [423] Thus there arose in the village a banana grove of some 800 stalks of bananas, with ownership in common, that is, "of the society," made up of the whole village (except for an old Nandeva man, who co-operated only "as help," for he arrived after a large part of the work was done). The clearing for forming the banana grove was done in two puxirões: the planting, too, was done in common, but without /60/ puxirões. The planting was being done before the clearing had been finished; consequently there was no burning, and the banana trees grew among the felled trees. The Indians explained their attitude by their hurry to get bananas, not only for the pig-raising that they were initiating, but for their own alimentation. Thus the economic immediatism goes on, in conflict with the development of rational tillage.

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/139 cont./

Nowadays the Guaraní rarely come in contact with Catholic priests, but without the least reluctance they have the children baptised and sometimes even accept religious marriage. In the cemeteries the wooden crosses for their part may have the function of attesting to a Christianity in reality nonexistent.

These concessions to the religion of the whites does not, in general, shake their primitive convictions. First, the children are "baptised" at the mongaraí, or moitendý, i.e., in the corresponding religious session presided over by the flandéru, "and them, so that the civilised people will not talk about us Indians, we also have them baptised in the church," according to the words of old Poýdju of Araribá. At the Pôsto at Araribá I have not met one child that had not gone through the mongaraí and that, therefore, did not have an Indian name, but all had also been baptized [829] in the Catholic church. In Poýdju's opinion, this mode of procedure reveals the superior spirit of the Guaraní as opposed to the attitude of the civilised: "They do not respect our religion, they mock us, but we respect theirs." It is "in order to accompany the civilised ones" that they do not work on Sundays and rarely on holy days, and for the same reason they do not hold feasts and dances during Lent. In Araribá it even happens that some men and women go to mass in the nearby village, without having the slightest notion of its significance.

The acceptance of the Catholic Baptism, common among the Ñandéva, as well as among the Mbhá of Rio Branco, also goes along with economic interests. A civilised godparent is chosen, who then feels obliged to give clothing or other gifts to the child. At Itariri I knew several Ñandéva who had been baptized repeatedly: Constâncio, daughter of Capitão Silvino Rufino, had three godfathers, since she had been baptized three times, once in São Paulo, another time in Santos, and another time in São Vicente.

It is clear that the religious acculturation is more rapid and more profound in the case of mixed marriages. The man who marries an Indian woman, particularly the caiçara, not only usually demands /140/ the religious marriage, but beyond this he familiarizes

2: Schaden--183 E-4,5 (1946-1954) 1963 SM4 Guarani Sh4

/140 cont./

563 the woman, the children, and other elements of the community
177 with many concepts of Catholicism. Hermínio, a Pernambucan
178 who lives at Bananal, is married to an Indian woman and is the
771 father of half a dozen mestizo children. He himself baptizes the children and gives them some religious instruction. Meanwhile, as could not fail to happen, the Christian elements that infiltrate into the Guaraní culture in this manner are soon modified in
771 their significance and in their functions. Time and again the
177 children present themselves to the visitor or to the adult persons
576 in the family in order to ask them for a blessing; it is a simple
[184] gesture of etiquette and, partly, just a pastime. Among the Mbüá of Palmeirinha and the Kayová of Panambí and Dourados, where the children likewise ask for a blessing from their parents, uncles and aunts, and strangers, the pattern is more or less equivalent to a respectful greeting.

771 Naturally the rapid social disorganization contributes to the
177 religious acculturation. As a consequence of rivalries, misunder-
178 standings, and internal quarrels, the village of Bananal lost almost
082 all of the tradition of the collective ceremonies according to the
[578] customs of the tribe. In 1948 there was an attempt to hold a mongaraí, which, however, because of disinterest and lack of co-operative spirit, did not succeed in being held. When Arnaldo,
771 capitão and principal man of prayer of the Ñandéva of Bananal,
177 died some years ago, Ermelina, his mother, had Campadre
178 Gregório called in, a caipira /this word is not italicized in the original text/ curer from the vicinity, "to pray a mass" at the
159 "tapera" /an abandoned place that becomes a wilderness/ of the deceased. On the occasion of a journey from Araribá to Bananal, Arnaldo became acquainted with the Catholic church of Avaré,
[175] which had pleased him a great deal. And on the day of his death, the soul, going by the house of a caboclo curer from São Vicente, had asked for a mass to be sung in that church. Ermelina gave 30 cruzeiros to the curer to pay for the mass. All this results in part from the tendency to imitate the "nationals," but it also gives a glimpse of the profound alterations suffered by the group solidarity. There were Indians in the village, such as the man of prayer,

/330 cont./

The Chiriguano adopted this civilization of a superior type with all the more ease by reason of the numerous affinities it offered with their own. The whole Amazonian and Guianan side of the Chané civilization was composed of industries, techniques, and practices with which the Chiriguano, having come from the tropical regions of America, from a country of great forests and rivers, were already acquainted in part. Thus, for example, the Guaraní, upon arriving among the Chané, found again the hammocks, grain sieves, mortars, baskets, and weapons to which they were accustomed.

The contribution of the Chané consisted of the very cultural elements they had received from the Andean peoples, that is, clothing (camisetas, headband, etc.), the liking for silver ornaments, some artistic motifs, certain pottery forms, etc., things which were scarcely beginning to filter into Paraguay. The influence of the Chané was decisive in the sphere of pottery.

The civilizing action of the Chané upon the Chiriguano had as agent the Chané women whom the Chiriguano captured and married. The Guaraní had certainly taken along with them only a small number of girls. They themselves were few in number at the beginning, 4,000 according to Lizárraga (Vol. I, p. 260). In uniting with the Chané women whom they carried off by the thousands, they renewed with their blood all the feminine aspects of their industry. It is the women, for example, who make /331/ the pottery; a man would not be able to engage in it without losing prestige. So we see the pottery of the Guaraní undergo important modifications and change completely. Today pottery is their glory; and of their ancient ceramics they have kept only the humble pots or the brewing vats for chicha. In spite of their decline the Chané have maintained their traditional superiority in this art, and they continue to produce vessels which, if they are not comparable to those of the past, are often very beautiful.